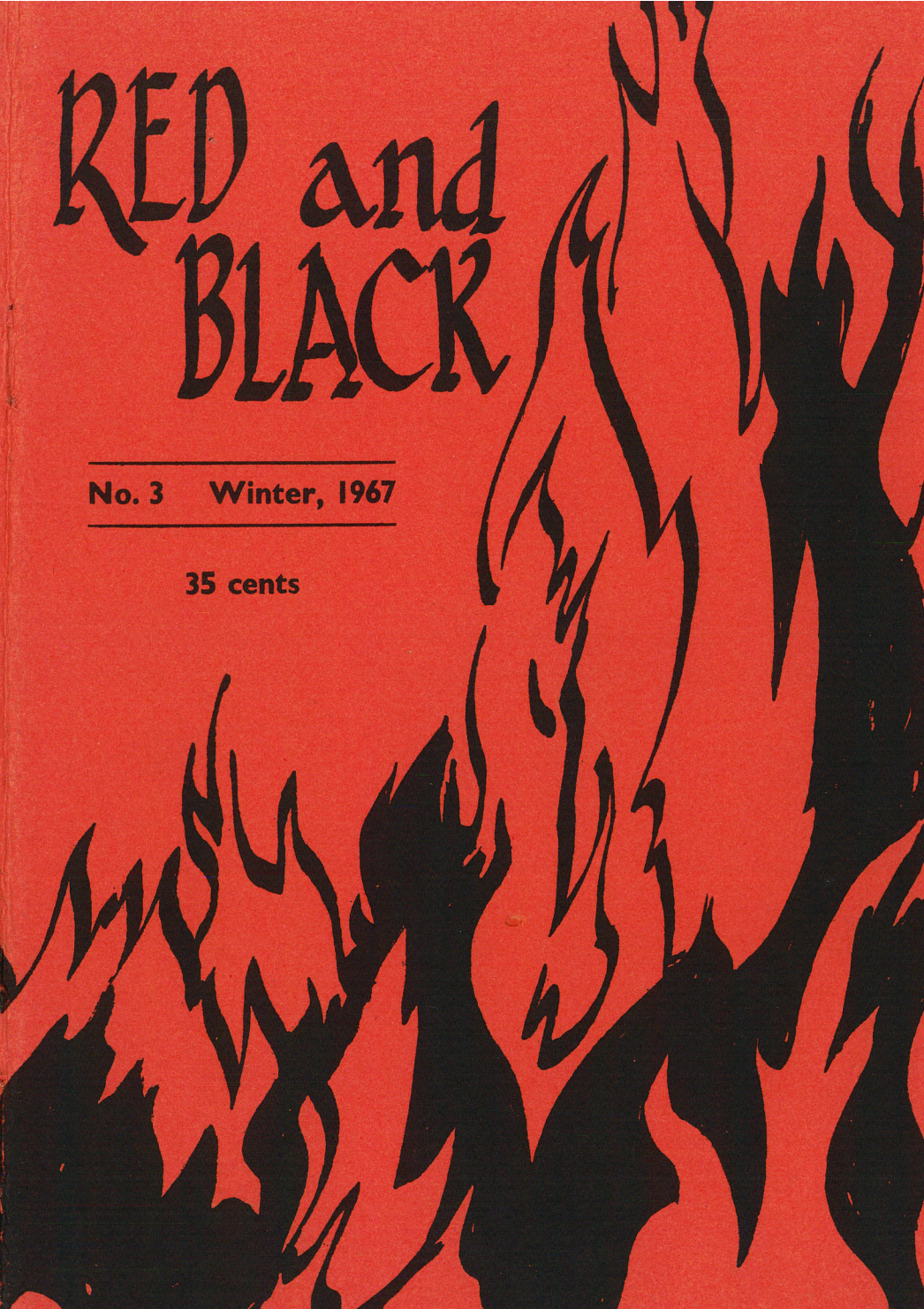
RED and BLACK

No. 3 Winter, 1967

35 cents



Contents

PAGE

EMILE ARMAND by E. D. 1

WHAT INDIVIDUALIST-ANARCHISTS WANT by E. Armand 2

THE I.W.W. IN AMERICA by D. Clark 5

THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM by J. Grancharoff 17

ANARCHISM IN JAPAN by V. Garcia 22

LENIN AND WORKERS' CONTROL by T. Brown 26

Edited by J. Grancharoff, Box A425, Sydney South

Cover designed by W. J. MacKay

EMILE ARMAND

By E.D.

Armand, whose real name is Ernest Juin, was born on 26 March 1872 in Paris. His father, one of the participants in the Commune of Paris, gave him an education which was critical of church doctrine and dogmas. This did not prevent Armand, in the search to satisfy his mysticism, from frequenting Salvation Army meetings for eight years (1889-1897). Not contented with Christianity as promoted and championed by officialdom, convinced of "the final triumph of freedom, of individual conscience, of impartiality, of love and free understanding among men; as against authority, hate, violence, lies and exploitation of any kind" he tried to satisfy his mysticism in the pacifist anarcho-christian tendency.

This tendency culminated in Armand's producing his magazine *"L'Ere Nouvelle"* in 1901. Tolstoy, who collaborated in the magazine, was also one of its main inspirers. Tolstoy exerted great influence on Armand, but was not accepted uncritically, and especially when the formation of communist colonies and "practical communism" nuclei was followed with vivid interest by Armand.

By constant elaboration of his own position Armand has come to his final ideological development, namely, anarcho-individualism. It was Stirner's *"Ego and its Own"* which first made an impact on Armand. But his anarcho-individualistic position was a result of the research he has done on Stirner and other individualist writers such as Warren, Spooner, Andrews, Tucker.

Armand's evolutionary process can clearly be observed in the various periodicals he published: *"Hors du Troupeau", "Les Refractaires", "Par dela la melee", "L'en dehors", "L'Unique"*. This anarcho-individualistic position was better expressed in his work: *"L'Iniziazione individualista anarchica"* (1925).

For Armand anarcho-individualism is not only a theoretical assumption but also a practical concept, a way of life. For him it is not enough to call oneself an anarchist but to act and live anarchistically, to have an anarchistic attitude.

We may agree or disagree with Armand; we may refute his theory but we have to remember that in Armand's individualism there is no place for "egoarchists".

Armand's individual is a man who "determines his own life in various intellectual, ethical and economic aspects, by means of freely accepted and applied contracts. This means freedom of all without being detrimental to the freedom of anyone, where there can simultaneously be tried all tentative systems, methods of individual or plural life, all possible or imaginable associations, without constraints or limits counter acting their respective functioning".

WHAT INDIVIDUALIST-ANARCHISTS WANT

By E. Armand

Individualists are anarchists who dislike above all the organised collective — Society — irrespective of the form it takes: i.e. the State and its institutions. Organised society or governmental administration are for them equally injurious and restrictive of individual initiative, reducing to the same common denominator those that they govern.

The human milieu—any human milieu—can be conceived of in two ways: either the individual is relative to it, or it is relative to the individual.

Individualists want a milieu conceived for the individual. Such a milieu would be relative to the individual and would neither exist, nor function, except BY and FOR the individual.

One may criticise this egotistical conception. One may consider it foolish, prejudiced, not likely to endure and so on. However that may be, such is the case. Anyone who has not understood this, has understood nothing of the work, effort, and propaganda of individualist anarchist life.

Individualist effort consists of being perpetually on guard against the encroachments of Society which, in its different aspects, wants to hold in subjection the individual, regarding him as "human material" and understanding its success by considering him only as a piece of machinery—economic, political, moral and so forth. Now, a piece of machinery is only serviceable insofar as it fulfils the role assigned to it. A piece of machinery that gets out of order, or stops, endangers the working of the whole mechanism. One cannot conceive of a spring, a fly-wheel, or an element of a battery, which would dispute its utility—that would be the end of the mechanism to which it belonged.

The individualist refuses to occupy the place of a cog in the social machine and he struggles with all his force to reduce its constraints, if not to nothing, then at least to a minimum. His great, his supreme preoccupation is to defend himself against its attacks. He succeeds, or he fails, but, conqueror or conquered, his state of mind, his way of life, remains the same. After all, he is never absolutely beaten: he suffers, but he does not submit—his acquiescence is a pretence, he humbles himself only in appearance. He considers as invalid any enforced contract, even making use of the law to evade it and render it null and void. The individualist desponds to the force of obligation by the strength of stratagem. That is to say, he opposes personal intelligence to collective violence. That is why, as long as he is alive, he ignores final defeat. Even when crushed, even when unable to move, the individual does not for a single moment cease to be inwardly a rebel.

Stirner quite rightly distinguished between revolution and insurrection. The revolutionary aims at a total transformation of the social condition according to a complete plan defined in advance, or one that can be defined later on. The insurrectionary struggles to diminish or annihilate the oppression which weighs on him. He fights in order that he shall not be forbidden to be or to do, in order not to be constrained to be or to do, so that he can maintain and affirm his partial or complete autonomy. The individualist makes no pretence of having in his possession a secret of a panacea destined to make everyone happy. He rebels against everything that tends to restrain his powers or is liable to prevent him attaining his personal well-being—it being understood that this well-being is conceived of without the domination or exploitation of other people.

When confronted with a discovery of a scientific, mechanical or any other kind of application, the individualist does not ask, for example, if this "progress" will shorten his hours of work; he asks first of all if it will make him more or less dependent upon the collectivity. That is his standard: the greater or lesser dependence upon Society. "All very well your discoveries and their practical application," he says, "all very fine your barrack-like workshops, houses, schools—ordered, rationalised, regimented—your civic memorandums, your social constraint of the individual, your protection of the citizen. But, so far as I am concerned as an individualist, will all this make me more or less dependent upon Society?"

The "association of egoists" is above all a defence association composed of individuals wishing to make themselves more independent of the organised collective. Whatever end they pursue or regulations they willingly impose upon themselves, they intend by this means to escape the confines of Society and to resist its encroachments. The more they can create these associations, the more Society loses its power. The more they make free agreements, the more the enforced social contract loses its importance. Voluntary association and free agreement demonstrate the uselessness of Society and the enforced contract, since, with them, one obtains superior results, as regards the autonomy and assertion of the individual, to any offered by social organisation which inevitably sacrifices the individual to the efficacy of the machine. DIVIDE AND CONQUER is also an individualist device.

Do not challenge the individualist anarchist with the existence of a heritage, fruit of the labours of former generations. Before examining the actual worth of this heritage so far as it concerns him, the individualist will tell you that the fact of having been thrust into a world in which he must, willingly or unwillingly, submit to organisation, amply compensates for the hypothetical advantages of the heritage in question.

Do not demand of the individualist anarchist that he agrees to a tentative collective transformation of society which, politically, econo-

mically, or otherwise, renders the ego more completely dependent upon the average mentality of the multitude or of its majority—the producing and consuming agglomeration! The individualist anarchist can only agree to a transformation which implies a complete reversal of current values—that is to say, which places social responsibility upon the ego, which bases the social upon the individual.

Do not speak to the individualist anarchist of forms of society which LATER ON—when he will no longer be there to enjoy them—will relate the human milieu to the individual. The individual anarchist is neither of the Illuminati nor a mystic: for him, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. He does not mind being accused of adopting a short-term point of view, or of never going beyond a narrow horizon. He speaks to the present. And he argues that if the rational instinct of self-preservation had prevailed over every other consideration, the world would not find itself in the state of deadlock into which it has been driven. Neither the egoist, nor the association of egoists, have led humanity to the brink of annihilation. It is the sacrifice of the ego to altruism—the altruism of the State, Society, collectively, nation, party, religion, etc. On the altar of forced solidarity has been thrown the self, throbbing, quivering, recalcitrant, bleeding. Today is being reaped what has been sown. The mass follows the individual into the grave. And this is just. It has not been understood that in eliminating the individual, one is preparing the ruin of all.

No inventor has ever bothered about individual production—I mean to say, the application of scientific discoveries for the profit of the producer or personal manufacturer. So we get crises, enforced idleness, customs barriers, menacing wars. Certainly, there is mass production, but it is paralleled by mass destruction. A cog does not think, does not argue, does not discuss—it is a cog. The last war was an incomplete victory of collective altruism over personal egoism; the next will be a complete triumph.

The individualist is not intolerant or fanatical—he is not one of those who know that they are in the right. He does not want to achieve by force, I repeat, the welfare of anyone. It may be that after all, the multitude are incapable of acting in any other way than altruistically—that the crowd, generally speaking, cannot go beyond the sacrifice of the Arena. It cannot be helped.

All that the individualist asks is to live his own life; he affirms nothing but his right to exist. It is because he does not wish to be a cog in the machine, or an instrument of Society; it is because he has no inclination to drown himself, to become absorbed or integrated into the "collective soul", that his right to existence and his affirmation of this right are not so obvious as the right to existence of those who neither share nor adopt his concepts of life.

That is why one will always find the individualist willing to make a

contract with any grouping, to the terms of which each party will live, organise himself as he thinks best and mutually guarantee security. That is why one will always find individualists, alone or associated, willing to renounce the "protection" of the State, the "benefits" of Society, since they are left "free" (at their own risk and peril and without interfering in the groups outside of them) to live their own lives: ethically, economically, sexually, intellectually, etc.

With regard to any collectivity which wishes to make them do anything against their liking, the individual anarchists will hold themselves on the defensive and will consider themselves in a permanent state of insurrection, open or concealed, according to circumstances. And what anti-authoritarian will reproach such an attitude?

THE I.W.W. IN AMERICA

By D. Clark

PART II: SUPPRESSION

The I.W.W., with its revolutionary doctrines, naturally met opposition. This opposition was both harmful and advantageous. It had chosen to challenge the whole basis of American society and this society was completely unwilling to be challanged. For the sake of the underprivileged, it had "taken on" not only the employer, but all elements of bourgeois society from organised religion to the legal system. The bourgeoisie are reactionary by nature. Bourgeois reaction has always taken extreme forms, and their reaction to the I.W.W. was no exception. Any threat to social stability or especially to the rights of property is seen as something which must be suppressed at all costs. Justice and civil liberties are subservient to the whims of bourgeois reaction.

If the I.W.W. learned a lesson from its experiences up until the 1920's, it was that the American bourgeoisie were too firmly entrenched and had too much influence, if not control, over the basic institutions of American society. Hysteria was their best weapon and against the I.W.W. it was well used. The means by which the I.W.W. was crushed by 1920, have aroused civil libertarians, progressives and liberals ever since. The National Civil Liberties Bureau was set up basically because of the methods used against the I.W.W. It was to prove valuable in controlling the hysteria by publishing a pamphlet entitled "The Truth about the I.W.W.", in 1917. The facts set out in this pamphlet were diametrically opposed to the so-called "facts" about the organisation which were bandied about by virtually all newspapers and periodicals,

politicians and even labour leaders in the United States. It is the writer's contention that the suppression which the I.W.W. met, especially after the United States' entry in the Great War, was unjustified and unnecessary. This suppression was also the prime reason why the I.W.W. was virtually non-existent by 1920.

It must be emphasised that if the I.W.W. had not met the violent opposition it did in its formative years, it would never have developed into anything except a small group of militant radicals. It thrived on opposition. The stronger the opposition in the early stages of its development, the stronger was the organisation of the I.W.W. and the more members it gained. It was revolutionary to the core, and knew the best ways of utilizing opposition for its own purposes. Its numerous struggles to overwhelm opposition are illustrative of the methods of operation the I.W.W. adopted in its battles in the class struggle. The methods used by the opponents of the I.W.W., indicate the threat they at least thought the I.W.W. was posing, to their inviolable status quo. To illustrate then the methods used by both the I.W.W. and its opponents in their more violent clashes, a description of a few of the more "notorious" free speech fights, started by the I.W.W. in the period 1907-1913, thus follows.

The soap-box militants of the I.W.W. travelled throughout the West, exposing the extortionate practices of labour agents and recruiting members for the "One Big Union". As halls were expensive, the soap-boxer adopted the same "preaching ground" as the Salvation Army had. Because, however, they did not promise eternal salvation, but tended to agitate the migratory into doing something about his present condition, they were usually barred from the streets. They did not fight such restrictions to defend a constitutional principle or to attract publicity but to awaken class consciousness in the migratory. The migratory had no outlet for his grievances against the society which mistreated him so badly, and therefore the free speech fight provided him with a means of expressing these grievances by "bucking" the system. The more he was gaoled or clubbed by police and vigilantes, the more aware he became of the class struggle and the more bitter he became towards his assailants and the society which sanctioned their actions.

As the speeches of the soap-boxer threatened business and commercial interests and often sounded seditious, unpatriotic and immoral, municipal authorities wasted little time in passing ordinances prohibiting their utterance in public. The boldness and intransigence of the rebels exasperated these authorities, arousing their wrath and often leading them to take violent action. The "wobblies" saw the free speech campaign as a unique direct action technique which provided a means of educating migratories and a practical necessity in countering community opposition to the I.W.W. Their first major one occurred in Spokane, Washington in 1908 and 1909.

Spokane is the centre of a region rich in agriculture, mining and lumber. The I.W.W. had had a local there since early 1907 and had collected evidence of many cases where workers were either sent to non-existent jobs or were charged excessive fees by employment "sharks". These practices not only affected the workers themselves but also made the task of the I.W.W. organiser much more difficult because of the high labour turnover. I.W.W. speakers began denouncing these practices in front of the employment agencies and thus the agents had an ordinance passed forbidding all street meetings, except those of the Salvation Army. When speakers defied this ordinance, they were arrested. I.W.W. locals were notified all over the West and I.W.W. newspapers urged "wobblies" to descend on Spokane for a "Free Speech Day". The "Industrial Worker" warned that the meetings were to be orderly and no irregularities would be tolerated.

On the appointed day, speaker after speaker mounted soap-boxes to say "Fellow Workers", before being pulled down by the police, arrested, and charged with disorderly conduct. Most were sentenced to thirty days' hard labour. Many speakers suffered from stage-fright and Fred Thompson in his book, recalls one "wobbly" who stood up on a box, started his speech with "Fellow Workers" and then in panic yelled, "Where are the cops?" Within two days, 150 were in prison and by the end of the month the total had reached 600. The prisoners were kept in an old school as well as the city gaol and overcrowding was great. According to Flynn, twenty-eight prisoners were forced into a seven-by-eight foot cell and when they complained, were firstly put in a steam-heated cell and then into a cold cell, and as a result of this treatment several died from pneumonia.

Those arrested gave their addresses as such far away cities as Chicago, Milwaukee and Los Angeles. Condemnation of police brutality and treatment of prisoners came from the Washington Socialist Party and the American Federation of Labor. The I.W.W. hall was raided and the editor of the "Industrial Worker" and three other I.W.W. organisers arrested on the now familiar charge of "criminal conspiracy". After "Gurley" Flynn had accused the police of running a brothel in the gaol, the publishing of the "Industrial Worker" had to be done in Seattle. Frank Little, an I.W.W. organiser, was arrested for reciting the Declaration of Independence and this was used by the I.W.W. to argue that its reading in a capitalist-dominated community could lead to a gaol sentence.

By March, 1910, Spokane became tired of paying over $1,000 per week to feed the I.W.W. prisoners and pay for the extra police required. The mayor announced that he knew the employment agents were "crooked" and revoked the licences of nineteen of the most notorious ones. At the same time, the prisoners were freed and the I.W.W. allowed to return to their hall and re-commence street meetings.

After Spokane had granted the right of free speech to the I.W.W. through its persistence and determination, any further attempts to restrict free speech would be met with the same persistence and determination. The next attempt to "gag" the I.W.W. was at Fresno, California.

As soon as "wobblies" became evident in the town, opposition to them and their organisation grew rapidly. The "Fresno Herald and Democrat" started the hysteria by suggesting that for all I.W.W. agitators, ". . . a whipping post and a cat-o'-nine-tails well seasoned by being soaked in salt water is none too harsh a treatment for these peace breakers". Over 150 migratories were arrested for using the same tactics initiated in Spokane and were treated in the same manner by the police, as they were in Spokane. When some of the "wobblies" refused to stop "soap-boxing" to a large crowd which gathered outside their prison, a fire hose was turned on them and according to Haywood, they "were compelled to stand up to their knees in water", for a whole night. The arrested "wobblies" had no legal representation when they went before the judge and their defence lay in their own hands. The court-behaviour of the "wobbly" is best illustrated by a speech made from the dock, by an anonymous member of the I.W.W.:

> "You (the Judge) have become blind and deaf to the rights of man to pursue life and happiness, and you have crushed those rights so that the sacred rights of property should be preserved. . . . I did violate the law, and I will violate every one of your laws and still come before you and say 'To hell with the courts', because I believe that my right to life is far more sacred than the sacred right of property that you and your kind so ably defend."

The "wobbly" used every opportunity to propagate he was given.

When the I.W.W. made plans for over a thousand migratories to inundate Fresno, the authorities released their prisoners and gave the I.W.W. back its civil rights. As quickly as the "wobblies" had appeared in Fresno, as quickly they left. In a jovial mood after their victory, many sang a freshly-coined verse of "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum", as they left town to begin their search again for employment:

> "Springtime has come and I'm just out of jail
> Without any money, without any bail".

A few months after the Fresno fight, free speech was again challenged, this time in San Diego, California. Employers had petitioned the city council for the abrogation of the right to speak on the streets and the council had given in to their pressure. From the Fresno and Spokane fights, free speech had become an important issue with not only the I.W.W., but with increasing numbers of socialists, trade unionists and civil libertarians. These formed a California Free Speech League to fight the San Diego ordinance. As before, "wobblies" flocked to the "call" from all over the West. On this occasion, however, middle-class

reaction was to be seen in its ugliest form, the vigilante committees. When initial arrests had been made, the "San Diego Tribune" called for the shooting or hanging of all men in the gaols which, they claimed, "would end the trouble in an hour".

Statements like these only made the "wobblies" swarm into San Diego, 5,000 of them were to arrive in the next few months. With the newspapers calling for extra-legal methods to exterminate the "wobblies", citizens quickly formed their own vigilante groups. These groups illustrated how possible it is for the latent, sadistic impulses within human beings to easily erupt under the guise of patriotism. Besides the intimidation of prisoners inside the gaols, any suspected supporter of free-speech within the community was also threatened and boycotted. When the editor of the "San Diego Herald" criticised the illegal actions of the vigilantes, he too was kidnapped and taken outside the city limits to be severely beaten. The vigilantes worked almost always in collusion with the police, in operating their nightly sojourns to dissuade migratories never to return to their city. One account of an unfortunate victim of these activities described how he was taken by a group of these "responsible" citizens to a deserted spot, stripped naked, kicked and beaten, tarred and feathered, and then forced to kiss the flag and sing the "Star Spangled Banner". As a final act of degradation, he had the letters I.W.W. burned on his buttocks with a cigar. He was then left without clothes to hike to Los Angeles, a trip which took him over seven days and which he made in a deplorable physical condition.

After the I.W.W. hall had been wrecked and all its inhabitants subjected to similar treatment as that described above, public apathy was stirred. Because of the national publicity the whole incident had received, as well as criticism from many sources of police brutality and vigilante action, the Governor of California appointed a commissioner to report on the "troubles". Colonel Weinstock, a businessman, was shocked at what he found. In his report he declared that local commercial bodies had encouraged and applauded the acts of "these so-called vigilantes". He also reported "needless brutality on the part of police officers", toward the "wobblies" who he found had practised passive resistance and whose actions had not necessitated such violence.

Weinstock's report also disclosed that public meetings were not allowed unless the Police Chief granted a permit, although no law existed requiring a permit and he summed up with the following; ". . . it was hard for him (Weinstock) to believe that he was not sojourning in Russia, conducting his investigation there instead of in this alleged 'land of the free and home of the brave'." When this report was tabled, the Governor immediately sent the California district attorney to San Diego, to enforce the law. However, no prosecutions of citizens involved in vigilante actions were made. This condemnation of citizens and authorities of San Diego did not give rise to new democratic spirit,

although it was probably partly responsible for a drop in the violence directed against the I.W.W. street meetings, which by this time had resumed. Gradually those imprisoned were released and free speech was now allowed in San Diego.

If the I.W.W. had met violence in San Diego, it was violence of a different nature which it met in Everett Washington in 1916. The struggle for the right to publicly spread its doctrines was to lead to a tragedy which was to shock America. The I.W.W., as part of its campaign to organise the lumber industry of the North-west, had called a strike in co-operation with the Shingle Weavers Union over a reduction in wages. At the first appearance of a "wobbly" agitator in Everett, a James Rowan, the police quickly gave notice of the things which were to come. He was arrested and told to leave the town and never return. He remained and organised the strikers against the "scabs" who had been brought in to break the strike. The tactics used by the employers involved violent physical attacks on the picketing strikers by the hired men. According to the "Industrial Worker" many attempts were made to break up the picket lines, but the I.W.W. heard about them in time to rush reinforcements of men to the scene. The "wobblies" were more than able to "hold their own" so the employers countered with an ordinance preventing I.W.W. meetings. Many arrests were made before the ordinance had even been passed. The beating up of union members and large scale deportations of workers from the town built up an "electric" tension within Everett.

When the ordinance was passed, the I.W.W. called a public meeting which was attended by over 2,000 people and sent a message to Seattle for more I.W.W. reinforcements. On November the fifth, 298 "wobblies" left Seattle on the steamers "Verona" and "Calista", together with regular passengers, bound for Everett. The Seattle police made no attempt to stop the "wobblies" but wired ahead to Everett to tell the authorities there they were coming. Afterwards, the press described the travellers as "armed to the teeth", but it was later conceded by the authorities that no more than 5% could have been armed. When the sheriff heard of the "wobblies' " approach, he erected a large barricade on the main dock. According to Smith, "several hundred" armed deputies were behind the barricade, together with a machine-gun. As the "Verona" approached the wharf, with the I.W.W. members singing, "Hold the Fort", the sheriff told them they were not to land. From the subsequent trials, it was found that the first shot was fired from the dock and the "wobblies" had answered it in similar manner.

The shooting lasted for almost ten minutes at the end of which five I.W.W. members were dead and thirty-one seriously wounded. The vigilantes of Everett had suffered two dead and nineteen wounded. Passengers on board the "Verona" were also wounded, one being shot nine times while a Pinkerton detective was partially scalped. Many

citizens had witnessed the tragedy and feeling against the Commercial Club, which had arranged the "welcome" for the "wobblies", ran high. An American Federation of Labor reporter, described the I.W.W. as having the support of the town and many people were "openly hoping that the I.W.W.'s would come back and 'clean up' ". The two steamers returned to Seattle where seventy-four "wobblies" were charged with murder and secretly returned to Everett.

After five months in gaol the accused were tried and all acquitted, after their defence attorney had re-enacted the scene of the killings and pointed out that many of the vigilantes were in the line of fire of the other vigilantes and probably sustained many of their injuries not from I.W.W. bullets, but from those of their fellows.

All the major free speech fights of the I.W.W., while giving it much needed publicity, also made public the ideology which this organisation supported. Thus, the statements of some obscure agitator could be used to indict the whole I.W.W. Proof was never required that the I.W.W. had ever really advocated bomb-throwing or the like, to brand all "wobblies" bomb throwers and anarchists. Whenever police or vigilantes were killed, their deaths were used to create a hysteria towards the I.W.W. as an organisation bent on destroying the American way of life. This was especially so after the Everett massacre. Without the free speech fights it is doubtful whether the I.W.W. would have stayed in existence. Therefore, the attempts made to eliminate it actually enabled it to stay in existence.

They had illustrated that the vigilante committee of the Old West could easily be recreated. Little justice was achieved by these committees, most of them creating injustice. To them, made up of the "respectable" citizens of a town, the floating itinerant worker was not their equal. Their "Bill of Rights" didn't apply to his type or his class. Their actions were far more anarchistic than those of the I.W.W. Moreover, the vigilantes were the strong, with the blind support of the bourgeoisie, backing up any action they wished to take against the comparatively weak migratory, with little but his pride to protect him.

It has been noted previously the role the "little red song book" of the I.W.W. played in spreading the I.W.W.'s message and strengthening the workers' support. Most of the songs sung around the camp fires in the "jungles", in the free speech fights and during strikes, were written by a Swedish-born migratory, Joseph Hillstrom. Joe Hill, as he was commonly known, has become the prime martyr of the American labour movement. Every labour movement has had its martyrs and needed them. Joe Hill played the role of the martyr perfectly. One cannot mention the suppression of the I.W.W. without dwelling on the apparent "frame up" of Hill by the authorities and his subsequent execution, as a means of silencing the best source of propaganda the I.W.W. had.

It is extremely difficult to present a purely objective and non-

emotional approach to the role and history of a martyr. It is not intended, in the following to do so. Joe Hill, whose songs with their tough, humorous and sceptical words had raked American morality over the coals, was only a member of the I.W.W. for three years before his arrest. He described himself as a "citizen of the earth" and his birth-place as "the planet earth". Little is known of his activities before his arrest in 1914 in Salt Lake City, Utah, for supposedly murdering a grocer. His supporters at the time, claimed he was framed by the Copper Trust and the Mormon Church for his activities in organising workers in Utah. The grocer he was accused of murdering had been a member of the Salt Lake City police force for many years, and up until his death was frightened from a reprisal threat which two criminals he had once arrested, had sworn towards him.

On the night of the murder, two men entered the grocer's shop, one shouted at Morrison, the victim, "We've got you now" and then shot him and one of his sons, dead. The remaining son described the gunman as about five feet nine inches tall and about 155 pounds in weight. That same night, Hill, a six-footer of weight 140 pounds, entered a doctor's office five miles from the scene of the shooting with a gunshot wound. The doctor later testified that the wound was certainly not more than two hours old when Hill arrived at his office, over two hours after the murder of Morrison. As the grocer had wounded the gunman, Hill was suspected and arrested three days later.

During his arrest he was shot three times and for ten days afterwards was in a critical condition. Obviously, if he had died, the trouble of preparing a case against him would have been avoided. The only connection between Hill and Morrison was that Hill had received a gunshot wound on the night of Morrison's murder. Three other inhabitants of the city had been wounded under circumstances which they could not explain, on the night of the murder. Hill's alibi was that he had been shot in a quarrel over a woman, and it was against his principles to disclose her identity. His wounds indicated that the bullet had passed right through his body. A minute search failed to find a spent bullet at the scene of the crime.

Long before his trial, the press had found him guilty. To these he was an I.W.W. and therefore sure to be guilty. During his trial, five months after his arrest, none of the witnesses were able to identify Joe Hill as one of the men who entered the grocery store on the night of the murder. The trial was full of irregularities and "loaded" questioning of witnesses. After ten days Hill was found guilty and sentenced to death. Although the I.W.W. was desperately short of funds, it made special appeals for money for his defence. Joe Hill in a letter to Bill Haywood decried these appeals, ". . . as we cannot afford to let the whole organisation go bankrupt on account of one individual". He felt victory could not be won in the courts of the enemy.

His I.W.W. comrades refused to let him die without a fight. The American Federation of Labor initially refused to be involved in the affair, but Joe Hill's plight captured the hearts of the working class without respect to nationality, religion or union affiliation. Huge protest meetings were held all over America and over 10,000 letters of protest were received by the Governor of Utah. Hill's case spread even to Australia, where 30,000 workers at a protest meeting passed a resolution demanding his immediate release or a boycott would be placed on American imports. Demonstrations in Hill's home country put the case on a truly international basis and the U.S. Secretary of State, fearing diplomatic implications, pleaded for a reprieve for Hill.

Pleas came from such varied persons and groups as the daughter of the president of the Mormon Church, the Chicago Red Cross and finally from President Wilson himself. The thirty-fifth annual convention of the Federation of Labor, against Gomper's wishes, passed a resolution demanding that the execution be stopped. This last resolution made Wilson plea again for clemency for Hill. Governor Spry of Utah rejected this plea as "unwarranted interference". The Joe Hill case was to become a cause celebre in American history.

During his almost two years in prison, Joe continued producing articles, poems and songs to aid his beloved organisation. On his last day he wrote to Haywood: "Goodbye, Bill. I die like a true blue rebel. Don't waste time in mourning. Organize." To "Gurley" Flynn he wrote: "I have lived like a rebel and I shall die like a rebel." He played the rebel right to the end, refusing to be blindfolded or tied down for his execution by firing squad. Legend has it that he gave the command to fire to his executioners. Haywood in a final tribute to Joe wrote: "Goodbye, Joe. You will live long in the hearts of the working class. Your songs will be sung wherever workers toil, urging them to organize." The song-writer remained himself to the very end, his final valedictory being his will:

"My will is easy to decide,
For there is nothing to divide.
My kin don't need to fuss and moan
" 'Moss does not cling to a rolling stone',"

Before the body was shipped to Chicago for the funeral, over nine thousand people filed past it in a final farewell. The Chicago funeral attracted almost thirty thousand mourners of every race, creed and colour. Thousands of these wore pennants or ribbons with "We Never Forget" and "Don't Mourn—Organize—Joe Hill", on them.

The authorities, so as to try and stop the publicity which was to spread after his death, planted a Federal agent as the official photographer of the funeral. Haywood and others were unaware of this and the film of the funeral they had planned to use for publicity purposes was never seen except by the authorities. In accordance with

his wishes, his ashes were put in small envelopes and on May Day, 1916, scattered to the winds in every state of the union and in many overseas countries.

On the morning of this death, the New York "Times" wondered whether his death had left an opening for people to make a hero of him and that it might make ". . . Hillstrom dead, more dangerous to social stability than when he was alive". His defence lawyer, Judge Hilton, was disbarred in Utah and the daughter of the president of the Mormon Church who had been active in Hill's defence was dismissed from the faculty of the University of Utah. On the night before his execution, a speaker at a protest meeting had cried out: "Something is going to happen. Joe Hill will never die." The I.W.W. writers saw Joe Hill as the means of keeping the spirit of the I.W.W. alive for generations. Ralph Chaplin, Covington Hall and many others all eulogized Hill in song and in verse. Through their actions and those of many other American folklorists, as well as his own songs, Joe Hill truly never died. His biography in Dos Passos's "1919" and the ballad "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night", helped make Hill into a legend.(2) He had provided the catch-phrase for the American labour movement in his final words, "Don't mourn for me, Organize!"

There has been sufficient evidence come forth to indicate that Joe Hill's guilt is extremely questionable. The officials involved in the case made sure that the account of the trial and other evidence, would never be examined. Soon after Hill's death, the details of the case mysteriously disappeared from the District Court Office in Salt Lake City. His death had publicized the I.W.W. throughout the world. Writers asked what kind of man was he whose death was celebrated with songs of revolt and who had at his bier more mourners than any member of royalty or potentate? More importantly, the public looked with amazement at the organisation whose members had mourned in crimson red instead of sombre black, and who had marched to the final resting place of a fallen fellow worker, singing battle songs instead of dirges of lamentation. It was a spirit which must have appeared threatening to the conservative and the rabid maintainer of the status quo.

While Joe Hill was killed, or murdered, under the "protection" of the law, there were other martyrs of the I.W.W. who were murdered well outside its limits. One of these was Frank Little. Little, an I.W.W. organiser, went to Butte, Montana, after a fire in a mine there had burned two hundred miners to death. Survivors of the tragedy blamed the mine owners for their disregard of safety regulations pertaining to the mine and organised a strike. The mine owners refused to grant the strikers' demands for better safety precautions and higher wages, and declared they would rather flood the mines than "give in" to the strikers.

The mine-owners resented the agitating of Little amongst the miners and took drastic steps to stop it. A year before in Michigan he had

been severely beaten and threatened with lynching. He had been a member of the I.W.W. since its inception and described himself as, "a real American" and "a real Red". Before he left for Butte, Chaplin chided him by saying it was a poor specimen the I.W.W. was sending, "one with two crutches, one leg and one eye". Frank laughingly replied, "Don't worry, fellow worker, all we're going to need from now on is guts". At three o'clock in the morning of the first of August, 1917, a group of heavily armed, masked men dragged Little from his bed, beat him and then dragged him behind their Cadillac to a railroad trestle on the outskirts of the town, where he was lynched.

When his body was found the next day, upon it was pinned a card declaring, "First and last warning! 3+7—77". The numbers referred to the standard grave measurements used by vigilantes in the "Old West". Both his knee-caps had been broken from being dragged behind the Cadillac and the plaster cast on his leg was broken. No attempt was ever made to locate or punish his murderers. This terrorism failed to frighten the strikers back to work.

Up until World War I, the I.W.W. was officially tolerated, at least. This was only because the federal government lacked suitable machinery for dealing with dissident members of the community. Whenever sporadic outbursts of "I.W.W.'ism" broke out, local businessmen had demanded federal indictments, federal troops and federal investigations. Lacking any evidence of criminal activity, the exponents of repression envisioned the federal government as a "deus ex machina" for their radical difficulties. Taft and later, Wilson, were eager to help but there was no state law, no federal criminal law and no deportation law with which to attack the organisation. If there had been any of these in 1912, at the height of the I.W.W.'s activity, then it would have been eliminated at that time.

After the free speech fights and the Lawrence strike, Congress began preparation of a new immigration law allowing the deportation of any alien "advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property". (1) Because the law also included a controversial literacy test, it was vetoed in 1913, 1915 and 1917, thus affording the I.W.W. a triple stay of execution. The law was an attempt to prevent arrivals from southern and eastern Europe who, according to Wilson, were lacking in "initiative" and "quick intelligence", and who the chairman of the House Immigration Committee found were possessed with, "inherited misconceptions respecting the relationship of the governing power to the governed". (2) Congress, under the misconception that the I.W.W. was a "foreign" organisation, felt it could be eliminated by expelling its alien agitators and excluding its "ignorant, misquided followers". No attention was paid to the shocking industrial conditions which had been uncovered by various investigating committees and the idea that an honest, hard-working foreigner could acquire radical views due to

American conditions was simply seen as too far-fetched to be taken seriously.

The attitude of many Congressmen was summed up in a statement made by a Texan representative in 1917.

> "Now I would execute these anarchists if I could, and then I would deport them, so that the soil of our country might not be polluted by their presence even after the breath had gone out of their bodies. I want to get rid of them by some route . . . or by execution by the hangman. It makes no difference to me so that we get rid of them."

Under the proposed law, little concern was given for the civil liberties of the individual. The rights of anarchists and other radicals were not to be determined by the long, slow procedure of courts, as it would only encourage them "to ply their trade". The intention was not to merely destroy the active forms of the radical disease, but to attack the "passive and insidious germs". The government would, therefore, seek to eliminate the word as well as the deed and as there is no process for uncovering the convictions of the human mind, this policy sent officials off on the dangerous practice of judging intent, rather than evaluating acts. Before this programme could be adopted, however, the United States entered World War I.

(*To be concluded in the next issue*)

(2) During the C.I.O. organising drive of the mid-thirties, this song was sung by thousands:

> "I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night
> Alive as you and me
> Says I, 'but Joe you're ten years dead,'
> 'I never died,' says he.
>
> 'The Copper bosses killed you Joe,
> They killed you Joe,' said I.
> 'Takes more than guns to kill a man'
> Says Joe 'I didn't die.' "

quoted in: Boyer and Morais op cit. p. 173.

THE FAILURE OF SOCIALISM

By J. Grancharoff

Everywhere the socialist movement is in ruins. The great revolutionary army which, according to the theorists, was to overrun and overthrow the capitalist empires, and lay the foundations of the new social order, is defeated, discouraged and dispersed. The revolution, that was just around the corner, has never materialised. The socialists who consulted the oracle, who saw the signs in the heavens, the moon and the stars, are dead.

Capitalism remains; challenged but everywhere thriving. *Capitalism,* which the socialist theorists of fifty years ago claimed was declining and about to give way to the new society.

Many factors have contributed to the bankruptcy of socialism. Outstanding among them is political action which has entered the socialist movement at its inception. It has turned socialism into political parties which by their fundamental structures are incompatible with the basic prerequisites of socialism, namely, that the emancipation of the workers is an act of the workers themselves.

It was political action that split the first international into two main factions: (a) authoritarian-socialists; (b) antiauthoritarian-anarchists.

Socialists thought that government while an instrument of exploitation could also be a tool of emancipation. Therefore the main task of the proletariate as a class is to conquer the government and to use it to establish a classless society—socialism. To achieve that the working class has to be centralized, highly organized, and to have an enlightened leadership. Implications—the regimented proletariate has failed as a liberating force. Contrariwise—it has become the most reactionary force that has carried the principle of government to its most extreme conclusions.

Anarchists realized the danger of the above assumptions and bitterly attacked their symptoms in the first international, and thereafter. In one of the circulars of the Jura Federation we read: "If there is an undeniable fact attested a thousand times by experience it is the corrupting effect produced by authority on those in whose hand it is placed. It is absolutely impossible for a man who has power over his fellow-creatures to remain a moral man."

"The General Council could not escape this inevitable law. These men, accustomed to march at our head and to speak in our name have been led in the natural course of things and by the very force of their situation to desire that their particular programme, their particular doctrine, should prevail in the International. Having become in their own eyes a sort of government, it was natural that their own particular ideas should appear to them as the official theory, having the sole 'freedom

of the city' in the Association, whilst divergent views expressed by other groups, appeared no longer the legitimate manifestation of an opinion with rights equal to their own, but as a veritable heresy."

"We do not accuse the intentions of the General Council. The persons who compose it found themselves the victims of an inevitable necessity; they wanted, in good faith, and for the triumph of their particular doctrine, to introduce into the International the principle of authority; circumstances appeared to favour this tendency, and it appears to us quite natural that this school, whose ideal is the conquest of political power by the working class, should have believed that the International, as a consequence of recent events, was going to change its original organisation and to transform itself into an hierarchical organisation, directed and governed by the Council."

"But while we can explain these tendencies and these facts, we none the less feel ourselves obliged to fight them in the name of that Social Revolution which we pursue and whose programme is: 'The emancipation of the workers by the workers themselves', without any directing authority, even if the authority were elected and consented to by the workers. . . . The International, the embryo of the future human society is held to be henceforward, the faithful image of our principles of liberty and of federation, and is considered to reject any principle tending to authority and dictatorship."

The attempt of the Sonviller Circular to promote the libertarian tendency in Socialism and to prevent regimentation and centralisation of the working class organizations failed. Circumstances had favoured authoritarianism. Marxism, or scientific socialism, had gained ground at the expense of the genuine, independent and revolutionary spirit of the workers.

Marx's "Poverty of Philosophy" was an intellectual attack on Proudhon but Marx wanted something more than intellectual attack, a real annihilation of the Proudhonian tendency in the working class. In a letter to Engels dated 20th of July, 1870, he wrote: "The French need a thrashing. If the Prussians are victorious the centralisation of state power will be helpful for the centralisation of the German working class; furthermore, German predominance will shift the centre of gravity of the West European Labour movements from France to Germany. And one has but to compare the movement from 1866 till today to see that the German working class is in theory and organisation superior to the French. The dominance over the French on the world stage would mean likewise the dominance of our theory over that of Proudhon etc. . . ."

Prussianism was victorious. The French Bourgeoise won the battle against the French working class. Even Marx had to write in defence of the Paris proletariat, but his intimate desire was fulfilled. Proudhon, and for that matter the anarchists, lost much of their influence. Marx-

ism, after many years of manipulation, has become a new proletarian religion. But as is the case with all religions, the workers lost their initiative and delegated it to their leaders, who did not lose the opportunity to betray the workers.

The dominance of authoritarianism in the socialist movements has marked a new era. An era of betrayal after betrayal. Socialist politicians were very busy making themselves respectable in the eyes of the bourgeois State. They campaigned for the ballot box as a way of solving the problem of the working class ended in the morass of conformism, infusing new blood into the body of the bourgeoisie. Not only that but they carried the concept of the state to such an extreme, that even their enemies envy them.

Bakunin was among first clearly to perceive the outcome of the Marxian state: "But in the people's state of Marx, there will be, we are told, no privileged class at all. All will be equal, not only from the juridical and political point of view, but from the economic point of view, at least that is what is promised, though I doubt very much considering the manner in which it is being tackled and the course it is desired to follow, whether that promise could ever be kept. There will, therefore, be no longer any privileged class but there will be a government, and note this well, an extremely complex government, which will not content itself with governing and administering the masses politically as all governments today, but which will also administer them economically, concentrating in its own hands production and the just division of wealth. The cultivation of land, the establishment and development of facories, the organization and direction of commerce, finally the application of capital to production by the only bank of the State. All that will demand any man's knowledge and many heads overflowing with brains in this government. It will be a reign of scientific intelligence, the most aristocratic, despotic, arrogant and contemptuous of all regimes. There will be a new class."

Bakunin realised that socialism without freedom is but brutality and exploitation. The 20th century has vindicated Bakunin.

Socialism has conquered the world by defeating itself. The dictatorship of the proletariate has been established in Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, China etc., but the proletariate remains. The dictator is not the proletariate but those who do not produce, the new class of parasites, the bureaucrats.

Lenin in his "State and Revolution" p. 103 wrote: "Having conquered political power, the workers will break up the old bureaucratic apparatus; they will shatter it to its very foundations, until not one stone is left upon another; and they will replace it with a new one consisting of the same workers and employees, against whose transformation into bureaucrats will at once be undertaken, as pointed out in detail by Marx and Engels: (1) not only electiveness, but also instant recall; (2)

payment no higher than that of ordinary workers; (3) immediate transition to a state of things when all fulfil the functions of control and superintendence, so that all become 'bureaucrats for a time, and no one, therefore can become a bureaucrat."

This part of Leninism remained in the air. Reality does not tolerate illusions. Here are the observations of the Russian marxist Martov: "The 'Soviet State' has not established in any instance electiveness and recall of public officials and the commanding staff. It has not suppressed the professional police. It has not assimilated the courts in direct jurisdiction by the masses. It has not done away with social hierarchy in production. It has not lessened the total subjection of the local community to the power of the State. On the contrary, in proportion to its evolution, the Soviet State shows a tendency in the opposite direction. It shows a tendency toward intensified centralism of the State, a tendency toward the utmost possible strengthening of the principles of hierarchy and compulsion. It shows a tendency toward the development of a more specialized apparatus of repression than before. It shows a tendency toward the greater independence of the usually elective functions and the annihilation of the control of these functions by the elector masses. It shows a tendency toward the total freedom of the executive organisms from the tutelage of the electors. In the crucible of reality, the 'power of the soviets' has become the 'soviet power', a power that originally issued from the soviets but has steadily become independent of the soviets."

So Soviet Russia was the first country to show clearly the failure of socialism. It was the first country to show that the communist party which even today claims to be the vanguard of the Revolution and the working class, was and is one that has betrayed the revolution and the working class.

"In making the October Revolution, the working class hoped to obtain its emancipation. But it resulted in a worse slavery for human individuality. The power of the police monarchy passed into the hands of the usurpers—the Communists—who; instead of giving freedom to the people, gave them the fear of the Cheka's jails, whose horrors far surpass the methods of the Tsarist police.

"After long years of fighting and suffering, the Soviet Russian worker has only obtained impertinent orders, bayonet thrusts and the whistling bullets of the Cheka Cossacks. In fact, the Communist power has substituted for the glorious emblem of the workers, the hammer and sickle, another symbol—the bayonet and the barred window, which has permitted the new bureaucracy, the Communist functionaries and commissars, to procure for themselves a tranquil and carefree existence."

"But most debased and criminal of all is the spiritual slavery established by the Communists. They put their hands on the thoughts and moral life of the workers, compelling everyone to think only according

to their formulae. With the aid of state unions, they have chained the workers to the machines, and transformed work into a new slavery instead of making it pleasant. To the protests of the peasants, which have gone as far as spontaneous revolts, to the demands of the workers, compelled by the very conditions of their life to resort to strikes, they reply with mass shootings and a ferocity that the Tsarist generals might have envied."

"The workers' Russia, the first to raise the red flag of the emancipation of labour, is drowned in the blood of the martyrs for the greater glory of Communist rule. With it are drowned all the great and beautiful promises and possibilities of the proletarian revolution . . . (Izvestia Number 5, March 7th).

The fact that I dwell on Russia is not accidental. There, in the magnificent mausoleum on Red Square, reposing in embalmed effigy—is Lenin—Pharaoh-god in whose name the Russian people labour to hold up the pyramidal structure which is described as socialism. It is Russia that attracts so many pilgrims of various socialistic tendencies who perpetuate a myth and a legend. It is also Russia which is the tomb of socialism. And if one day socialism, the true anti-authoritarian socialism, resurrects it will be against the Soviet beaurocracy, and as a denial and rejection of the Soviet Reality.

The advent of the Russian Revolution, its high promises betrayed by the bolsheviks, its degeneration into rigid state beaurocracy with a highly oppressed working class; the subversive anti-revolutionary activities of the communists in the Spanish Revolution; the acceptance of the State as a permanent institution by reformist and non reformist socialists; the collaboration with and support of the capitalist state, or any state for that matter; the case of Greece, Germany, Hungary and many other instances are but a proof that socialism is a failure.

PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

"Elements of self-deception and conscious fiction are invariably interwoven with all revolutionary gospels. Their success is facilitated by the fact that the masses, as a whole, are equally receptive to just criticism of existing evils and to the most fantastic fairy tales. The Spaniard who invites a man to his house says 'Come into *your* house,' the polite implication being that the host's house is at the guest's disposal. The modern revolutionist who wants power tells the worker: 'This will be *your* power.' The Spaniard understands the polite hypocrisy of the phrase; the worker who sheds his blood for 'his power' does not."

Max Nomad, *Apostles of Revolution,* 1939.

ANARCHISM IN JAPAN

By V. Garcia

Although the growth of anarchist ideas in Japan runs parallel to the growth of Anarchism in Europe, the archipelago of the thousand islands may boast of having, in the time of Tokugawas when the country was completely isolated, a libertarian pioneer comparable to William Godwin. This was Ando Soeki. Ando Soeki remained unknown to the West—as did the Chinese Mo Ti who was revalued in 1922—and to his countrymen, although he wrote a voluminous book.

Ando Soeki was born towards the end of the 17th century, more than half a century earlier than Godwin who was born in 1756. Soeki's book *"Shizen Shineido"* (*The way of Nature and work*) is an indictment of those who do not produce; a hymn to the producer; it supports a return to nature; and is a contempt for luxury. The author and his work were unknown for one and a half centuries until a studious Japanese, Kano Kokicki, discovered them in 1899. On 24th of January, 1908, Morichica Umpei, a libertarian militant and the editor of the anarchist journal *"Nihon Heimin Shimbun"* published in his journal an article about Soeki entitled: "An anarchist of 150 years ago".

While the thought of Godwin made an impact on his contemporaries, that of Ando Soeki did not. It needed the Emperor Meiji's drive towards westernization for anarchism as a modern social theory to make headway on the archipelago. As this happened the figure of Denjiro Kotoku appeared on the scene.

Kotoku had begun his militant life in the socialist movement. He, together with Sam Ketayama and Nanoe Kinoshita, was the founder of the Japanese Socialist Party in 1897. In 1903 with Tashihito Shakai he started *"Heimin Shimbun"* (*The Journal of the People*) which from the beginning opposed the war against Russia. For his antimilitaristic campaign he was condemned to five years' gaol. He was released before the term of his sentence expired. While in prison he evolved from Marxism to Anarchism. In a letter which bears the date of 10th of August, 1905, he writes: ". . . In this country, to propagate Anarchism means to be condemned to death or to pass the rest of one's life in prison. Consequently the movement has to be organized secretly. Time and perseverance are necessary for its development and success . . ." Later on he founded *"Tatsu Kawa"* (*Iron and fire*), and began the translation of works such as: *"The Conquest of Bread"*. *"Law and Authority"*, *"The State"*, all by Kropotkin. Among the works he wrote are: *"The Quintessence of Socialism"* (1903), *"The Economic System of the Future"*, *"Free Ideas"*, *"Imperialism"*, *"The Structure of Modern Japan"*, *"Betrayed Christ"* (written in prison 1911).

In October 1905 he decided to emigrate to America, thinking that

there would be greater possibility for efficient work. There a year's experience made him realise that the Pacific Ocean was a big hindrance, an intolerable limitation for a militant like him, so he went back to Japan.

The strength of libertarian ideas was indicated by the fact that "Heimin Shimbun" was a daily publication. There were also weekly and monthly publications, pamphlets, and books translated from other languages. In face of the increasing propaganda of antistate ideas the Japanese Government ordered the "Big Revolt" accusing the anarchists of plotting against the emperor. Many of the anarchists were arrested, among whom was Kotoku. On 24th of January, 1911, twelve anarchists faced death. They were D. Kotoku, R. Hurokawa, H. Naruishi, T. Nimura, S. Oishi, K. Okumiya, U. Nimi, U. Morichika, G. Uchijamo, Kotoku's companion Suga Kano, T. Migashita and U. Matsuo.

The most important figure after Kotoku was Sakae Osugi. In 1915 he tried to edit "Heimin Shimbun" again but not for long, because the police banned it again. Successively he founded *"Rodo Unido"* (*The Workers' Movement*), *"Rodo Shimbun"* (*Journal of Work*), *"Kandai Shiso"* (*Modern Idea*). Like Kotoku, he began translating into Japanese any book which could be useful to his ideal. Among his translations was Darwin's: "The Origin of the Species". It was the first Japanese translation. Some of his voluminous works were republished not long ago.

He also visited Europe and took part in a May Day procession in Saint Denis, a rural Parisien suburb. On the insistence of the Japanese ambassador he was extradited two months later. Two months after his extradition in September, Japan—especially Tokyo and Yokihama—was hit by a terrible earthquake. Taking advantage of the martial law the Japanese soldiers killed Osugi, his companion Noe Ito, and one of his nephews, and threw them into a well.

One year later, on the first of September 1924 a libertarian, Kyutaro Wada, fired at General Hukuda who was responsible for the assassination of Osugi. Wada was imprisoned and remained there until 1928. In prison he wrote: *"The Window of a Prison",* which had a sympathetic review later on. Released from prison he continued his militancy in the anarchist movement.

Japanese anarchism has had a great influence upon the worker's movements. In fact there were (after 1926) many trade unions influenced by anarcho-syndicalism—especially the bookbinders' unions and those in other branches of the printing trade. At that time *"Giurengo"* (*Free Federation*) was published. The Libertarian Youth had its own organ *"Kuro Wakai"* (*The Black Youth*).

The Japanese environment was not favourable to the development of anarchist ideas. Japan obstinately followed an imperialist policy which was initiated with the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895. A

policy which had as its consequence the Japanese-Russian War ten years later.

The Allies won the First World War. China, which fought on the side of the Allies, saw how all the German possessions on the peninsula of Shanghung were transferred to Japan. But things did not stop there. Japan had slowly infiltrated into Manchuria and on 7th of July, 1937, it declared war on China. This date is recorded as the date of "Three sevens".

From that moment the repression of all revolutionary elements began. The closing down of their branches and syndicates was complete. It was not until the end of the Second World War that the revolutionary movement could revive again. The old libertarian comrades who survived this long period of repression and massacre initiated it.

Formally the Libertarian revival took place on 12th of May, 1947. This was the day the anarchists reunited in Tokyo and formed the Japanese Anarchist Federation. Two months later, on 15th of July, the old libertarian journal "Heimin Shimbun" reappeared. It began its circulation with 20,000 copies and became a weekly.

From then on there has been a congress every year—in Kyoto, Nagoya, Osake, Heimji, Fuknoka and so on.

At one of these congresses it was decided to change the name of "Heimin Shimbun" to "Kuro Hata". The reason for the change was that "Heimin" meant one of the classes into which Japanese society was divided before the coming of the Emperor Meiji. The Japanese anarchists thought that the name "Kuro Hata" (Black Flag) better expressed the necessity of the moment. For the same reason the name "Kuro Hata" was changed to "Jigurengo" at the congress on 6th of August, 1962.

The years of repression before and during the war badly hit the bases of libertarianism in Japan. Therefore after the war the anarchist movement in Japan was a movement of individuals rather than of groups and federations. The Japanese Syndicalist movement has shown the same pattern as that of the West. But there was a large body of students oriented towards anarchism. Even if they did not effectively take part in the libertarian movement they were influenced by anarchism. The student organisation of leftist orientations such as that of Zengakure in various situations were sympathetic to libertarian antistatism and anarchist free federation.

Recently, among intellectuals and technicians, there has been an approach towards anarchism. An approach in which our Japanese comrades put great hope. The technicians and intellectual workers did not think that they were represented by the trade union mass movements such as: Sohio Jikai—influenced by the Socialist Party, Sanbetsu—of communist inspiration, or Sodomei—an extremely conservative movement.

The intellectual achievements of Japan's anarchists have been considerable. A prolific writer after the war was Sanshiro Ishikawa. He wrote many works among which are: *"Anarchism from an Aesthetic Point of View", "Anarchism—its Principles and Its Realizations", "History of the Oriental Civilization", "Study of Japanese Mythology", "Biography of Eliseo Reclus".* Also he translated into Japanese the following works of Herbert Read: *"Poetry and Anarchism", "The Philosophy of Anarchism", "Marxism, Existentialism and Anarchism";* from Maria Luisa Berneri he translated "Workers in Stalin's Russia", from Rudolph Rocker—"Nationalism and Culture".

Until recently there was a libertarian liaison between West and East. A liaison which made it possible for a great quantity of literature to pass from Europe and America to Japan, China and Korea. Our comrades in the East who knew European languages devoured it avidly. Many books were translated to make them accessible to the masses. But whereas in the East there was a craving for the knowledge of the West, the West did not show any curiosity about the libertarian literature of the East. In that way the West lost many authentic studies because it did not like to go beyond its own world.

An exception to the rule was the publication of the work of Taiji Yamaga in Spanish by Terra y Libertad. The book deals with a libertarian interpretation of Tao To King by Lao Tse. Tao To King, from a distance of 2,500 years, contains certain libertarian anticipations which Yamaga knew how to make accessible to contemporary thought despite the cabalistic nature of the book.

Taiji Yamaga appears to be the last of the libertarians to follow the path of Kotoku. He worked together with Osuhi in the Japanese Esperantist movement. We find him also in China from 1910-1920. There he worked together with the Chinese anarchist Liu Si Fu, and contributed to the Esperantist publication: "The Voice of the People" (in Chinese "Ming Sing") which was a bilingual publication and was published in Shanghai. When the anarchist movement in Japan resumed its activities, Yamaga took an active part in it, and with his indefatigable pen worked towards the co-ordination of anarchist activities on a world level. With a primitive typographic machine, and patience, he had enclosed in every copy of "Heimin Shimbun", "Kuro Hata", and "Jiyurengo" which was sent to overseas readers a summary in Esperanto. He continued to do it till apoplexy struck him hard. Even so, there was enough energy left to enable him to continue to write to correspondents from all over the world and at the same time to remain one of the most fervent militants in the War Resisters International.

In 1961 at the world conference of W.R.I. Yamaga was the delegate of the Japanese Pacifists and the Japanese Anarchist Federation. The Japanese Anarchist Federation was the only anarchist organization to send a delegate to the conference, which was held in Gandhigran—

India. There he met other libertarian pacifist individuals such as Hem Day, Tomy Smyth, and the figure of the "Third Force" in Danilo Dolci.

The enthusiasm which the Japanese put into the pacifist campaign is misunderstood by Western libertarians. We have to remember that Japan was the only country to suffer from the explosion of two atomic bombs, so that the problem of peace is more pressing than any other social problem. It is the first and the most immediate problem which has to be solved there. This explains why Japanese libertarians insist so much on peace and why the Japanese Anarchist Federation was the only federation to be directly represented at the conference of the War Resisters.

In July, 1963, in the international column of "Le Combat Syndicaliste"—Paris, Gregorio Quintana quoting A. Prunier and comrades Y. Maeda and T. Hirayama, expressed a certain pessimism and at the same time a kind of criticism of those who "glorify non-existing hypothetical forces, deluding themselves". At the same time direct information from Japan indicates that the technicians and industrial research workers are seeing their strength in the libertarian ideals. Another encouraging sign is that when the anniversary of the death of Osugi was celebrated in Tokyo the hall was packed.

All over the world libertarian ideas are facing a crisis because of the growing interference of the State in the individual's life and the unrestrained military aggression of the great powers. Undoubtedly, even in Japan, this crisis exists. Nevertheless, in comparing East and West we may conclude that the eastern libertarians have maintained a more consistent attitude to anarchism.

LENIN AND WORKERS' CONTROL

By T. Brown

TWO OPPOSED PRINCIPLES

Dobb quotes an oft-repeated story by Lenin (taken from M. Farbman, *After Lenin*): "When workers' delegations came to me with complaints against the factory owners," Lenin once said, "I always said to them: 'You want your factory nationalised. Well and good. We have the decree ready and can sign it in a moment. But tell me, can you take the organisation into your own hands? Do you know how and what you produce? And do you know the relations between your product and the Russian and international market?' And inevitably it transpired that they knew nothing."

There is no scrap of evidence to support Lenin's fable, but there is abundant evidence, including that of Dobb, to the contrary: "Many factory committees went beyond the legal powers awarded to them in the Decree on Workers' Control, and eventually took the administration of factories into their own hands. This was a continuation of the spontaneous movement of direct action on the part of peasants and factory workers, which had gathered momentum under the Provisional Government." (*ibid*, p. 88). "In the spring of 1918 a syndicalist tendency had become widespread among factory committees; the notion that factories should be run directly by the workers in them, and for the benefit of those workers." (*ibid,* p. 89).

"Against this illegal nationalisation on the initiative of factory committees and local Soviets" the Bolshevik Government took action (p. 90), but the movement went on as though the workers of Russia had never heard Lenin's fable, the "know nothing" workers seemed very confident.

LOCAL INITIATIVE

In December, 1917, *Sovnarcom,* the Cabinet, instituted *Vesenka,* Supreme Economic Council, to supervise control of industry from the centre. Vesenka and the Cabinet, on April 27, 1918, again ordered an end to industrial confiscation. "But the instructions continued to be disobeyed: and efforts made by Vesenka in the direction of centralisation met with considerable resistance. The case of a group of factories in the Urals which the central authorities had decided to leave in private hands was not untypical. The local factory committee, declaring that the attitude of the owners was provocative, announced their intention of taking over the factory." The State-controlled "Central Council of Trade Unions" sent a delegation from Moscow to prevent the seizure and backed it with a telegram forbidding such action against the owners.

To this telegram the only reply was a laconic report announcing the date on which the factory had been taken over on the authority of the local Soviet. Of individual firms that had been nationalised prior to June, 1918, only 100 were nationalised by decree of the centre, while 400 had been nationalised on the initiative of local organisations. When the starch and molasses factory, *Zhivoliv,* was nationalised by the Government, the factory committee refused to hand over to the administrator whom Vesenka had sent to take charge; and when the District Economic Council of the Northern Region instituted a system of government inspectors to bring the metal works of Petrograd under its control, serious conflicts ensued between the inspectors and the factory committees (see also British Labour Delegration Report, 1920, p. 96). In the railway shops there actually appeared an organisation grandiloquently terming itself the "Alliance of Workers' Representatives", which agitated against centralised control in the interests of "the autonomy of the workers' committees'." (Dobb, pp. 90, 91).

It will be noted that Dobb equates collectivisation and workers' control with nationalisation, that is State ownership and centralised State control. A strange attempt to reconcile two obviously opposed principles.

The Left S.R.'s were continually protesting against Bolshevik attempts to turn the popular tide of collectivism and develop capitalism under a "Junker State" type economy. Against such protests Lenin wrote his pamphlet *The Principal Tasks of our Day,* calling "State capitalism" a "gigantic step forward" and talking of a future society in which "elements of both Capitalism and Socialism", would exist together (partly republished in *Selected Works,* vol. IX, 156-7).

CONCESSIONS TO CAPITALISM

Dobb speaks of some moves in that direction, thus: "For certain enterprises, particularly where foreign capital was involved, proposals were canvassed for the creation of 'mixed companies' in which State and private capitalists should participate jointly." And—"some abortive negotiations took place in March (1918) between the Soviet Government and a group of capitalists headed by the wealthy Moscow merchant Meshchersky for the formation of a mixed company in which foreign capital should participate, to control a certain group of enterprises in the metal industry . . . and a similar proposal came from a company known as the Stakhaev Company".

"In the early summer a commission instituted to frame conditions on which concessions might be given to foreign capital was considering certain proposals made by a Norwegian firm and a Russo-Dutch syndicate for railway extensions in Siberia and the Donetz Region".

"In the circumstances of the time very little was to become of these projects, although they were later to be revived on a limited scale after the civil war in the early period of the New Economic policy." Dobb, S.E.D.S. 1917, p. 85.

Bolshevik Russia looked like being a very unhealthy and uncertain country in which to live. The enterprises were not adventurous enough to risk wealth and life in a famine and bureaucrat ridden land. The great plans for capitalist expansion soon came to nought, foreign capital shied away and those merchants who had the wealth to do so left the country—except those who found jobs in the bureaucracy. The wage workers and peasants were left; on them fell the sabre cuts of dictatorship.

THE MANAGERS TAKE OVER

War was driving all governments to greater State control of the economy. This was especially true of such a totalitarian state as the Bolsheviks were creating, but Dobb speaks of other causes. The reason "for the accelerated transition to general nationalisation in the second half of the year (1918) was twofold. In the first place, many factory

committees went beyond the legal powers awarded them in the Decree on Workers' Control and eventually took the administration of factories into their own hands". (Dobb p. 88). Of course a political dictatorship could not allow industrial democracy to exist; the latter had to head the execution list.

The other cause of the Decree of General Nationalisation, which applied to all companies with more than a million roubles of capital in mining, metals, textiles, glass, leather, cement, timber and electrical trades, was quite different. "It might have seemed as if the government had suddenly capitulated to the Left. The immediate reason for the decree, however, was a rather special one, which gave it an emergency character. There were considerable fears in Moscow at this time that the Germans, having already occupied the important industrial regions of the Ukraine, might proceed, here and in other regions as well, to protect important industrial concerns from future nationalisation by transferring them to German firms." (Dobb, p. 95).

Dobb goes on to describe in some detail the actions of the Germans, through Count Mirbach, to protect this future "German property", and the counter-moves of the Russians, but whether from this or other causes, the turn was to greater nationalisation. But would the greater State control find an easier solution to Russia's economic problem?

The problem, the breaking down of much of industry, transport and farming, could be solved by starting at the bottom, in the localities, and co-ordinating the economic units from there outwards. This the workers and peasants were doing. In June, 1920, a delegation of British trade union and Labour Party leaders, with the addition of Bertrand Russell, was invited to Russia. From speeches made by its members on their return, they seemed to be enthusiastic about the methods used by the workers in industrial collectives under workers' control, to overcome crises.

Every one in a factory would spend a day in the forest, taking their own sleds, axes and saws, and cut timber to keep the boilers and engines going. Some factories, with the aid of peasants' carts, went to coal mines to collect fuel for their plant. Foundries organised scrap iron drives to feed their furnaces. Relations between factory and factory, for mutual support and exchange, were created. Economic relations between factory and peasants, exchanging manufactures for food and raw materials, were extensive.

THE "KNOW-NOTHING" WORKERS

Workers' control in industry was allied to peasant farming, and to artisan production, a strong economic trigon which the Bolsheviks destroyed, then tried to revive under NEP.

Many and ingenious were the devices of those whom Lenin despised as "know nothing" workers, to overcome shortages. One which took

the fancy of some members of the British delegation was the building of a local Soviet House, a community building, without iron fittings. The house was built of timber, notched, and all windows, doors and floors held, as there were no nails, by square pegs driven into round holes; the door hinges were of leather.

And how did the centralised control of Barrister Lenin shape up to the job? Divisions of the Supreme Economic Council, called Glavki, had been created by Lenin and these bodies were to guide and control industry. According to Dobb (*ibid,* p. 112), confusion—based on wrong and useless information—reigned throughout these divisions. An example: "A committee of investigation set up in June, 1920, reported that many Glavki not only 'do not know what goods and in what amounts are kept in the warehouses under their control, but are actually ignorant even of the number of such warehouses'." (Dobb *ibid,* p. 112).

In agriculture this control was even more disastrous, causing several famines and war against the peasants which is still going on. Stalin's enforcement of his collective farms in 1929 resulted (according to Dobb, p. 246) in a reduction of cattle by nearly a third by 1931 (more later); sheep and goats by half; horses by a quarter (later by half). Some figures are much higher than Dobb's, who seems to quote Stalinist statistics of that time. The wastage of arable area during this fatal centralisation of farming was enormous. Stalin himself, in an attempt to shift the blame on to his appointed deputies, wrote an essay, "Many are made dizzy by success", *Labour Monthly* (Communist), June, 1930.

Even in 1962, 1963 and 1964, Russia has bought many million tons of grain from the U.S. and Canada (a less fertile land than Russia) and Krushchev's central planning of "the new lands" has proved disastrous. Peasants under Czarism did much better when allowed to settle themselves.

From the beginning of Lenin's regime the workers were put under pressure at their jobs that made the old regime seem like organised benevolence. Individual managers were appointed from above and piecework, hated by workers throughout the world, was enforced. This was denounced as a "relic of capitalist exploitation" by Riazanov, a recently resigned Bolshevik, and by Gorki's group, as well as the workers' representatives (see Dobb, p. 91).

The managers were backed up by such armed force that they had never enjoyed under the Tzar. The factory committees were abolished. The unions, by force and fraud, were brought under first Communist Party, then State control and the same fate befell the co-operatives. Stakhanovites, petted persons, produced false "norms" of work, 8 or 10 times the normal, which the workers were forced to emulate and which cut their piece rates. Pollitt, leader of the British CP, on his return from Moscow in 1929, boasted that he had seen, as a typical

example, one man doing the work of three. Bad as it was under the Czar, the new devils, as in the parable, were even worse than the old.

To those Leninists who now shout "Workers' Control" and to the Trotskyists, too, we say look at the work of Lenin and Trotsky in power. To the Stalinists and the present follows of Khrushchev, who also falsely cry "Workers' Control", we recall the continuation of Lenin's evil work by the latter-day totalitarians.

There have been only two sources of Workers' Control of Industry and Farming, the Syndicalist movement of the world and the spontaneous reaching of the workers towards a better life.

We are still cursed by a 19th Century idea that all change, even a change of tyrants, is necessarily good. There is an old Russian proverb, which is the equivalent of the English, "Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know". Bitter XX Century experience should have taught us its truth.

Franco's rule is even worse than that of the Spanish monarchy; Dollfuss's was more cruel than that of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Kaiserism in Germany aroused the wrath of decent people, but shrank into insignificance beside the crimes of Nazism.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The Russian people did not want to change one vile tyranny for another, much less did they wish for a worse oppression. Under Czarism there had been some small area of expression. Despite repression there were strikes of workers and demonstrations. Russian writers produced a splendid literature, including many works of revolt (H. G. Wells said that a list of the world's best 12 writers would be all Russian).

The aims of the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, were, for the workers, control of their work and equality; for the peasants, the land to the tillers; to all the exploited, liberty of person, assembly, organisation and speech. All semblance of these were destroyed by Lenin. The seizure of power by the Bolsheviks was not a revolution, but the counter-revolution. It is not unusual for the counter-revolution to masquerade as the revolution; that is its only chance of success.

But Lenin's men were not satisfied when they had butchered or jailed the Socialists, Social-Revolutionaries, Liberals, Anarchists and Syndicalists. Next they turned upon themselves. Most of the Central Committee died at their comrades' hands. Throughout Russia and even beyond, untold hundreds of thousands of Communists were murdered by their fellow party members.

The revolution does not devour its own children; the counter-revolution does that.

OTHER PERIODICALS

English

Anarchy, monthly magazine.
Freedom, the anarchist weekly paper.
Both available from *Freedom Press,* 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.
Direct Action—monthly paper of the syndicalist workers federation, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.
Minus One—an individualist anarchist review.
S. E. Parker, 2 Orsett Terrace, London, W.2.
Solidarity—a subversive rank and file monthly journal.
Bob Potter, 197 Kings Cross Road, London, W.C.1.

American

Views and Comments—Quarterly journal of the Libertarian League.
P.O. Box 261, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003.
The Rebel Worker—journal of the Chicago branch of the I.W.W., 713 Armitage Avenue, Chicago 14, Illinois, 60164.
Industrial Worker—(I.W.W.)
2422 Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill., 60614.
L'Adunata dei Refrattari—an anarchist fortnightly paper in Italian.
P.O. Box 316, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003.
Tierra y Libertad—in Spanish.
Domingo Rojas, Apartado Postal M-10596, Mexico 1, D.F.

Italian

Uminata Nova—an anarchist weekly newspaper.
Via Dei Taurini, 27, Rome.
Volonta—an anarchist monthly magazine.
Aurelio Chessa, Via Dino Col 5—7a Genova, Italy.
Internazionale—Quindicinale anarchico.
Casella Postale 173, Ancona.

French

Noir et Rouge—an anarcho-communist magazine.
Legant, B.P. 113, Paris 18. (Do not mention "Noir et Rouge".)
Le Monde Libertaire—Organe de la Federation Anarchiste.
3, rue Ternaux, Paris (11).
International Centre for Research into Anarchism (*C.I.R.A.*).
Beaumont 24, Lausanne-CH., Switzerland.

Australian

Broadsheet—published by the Libertarian Society at Sydney University.
Box 3015, G.P.O., Sydney, N.S.W.

Printed by Walter Stone & Sons at The Wentworth Press
48 Cooper Street, Surry Hills — 69 6942